A

Rough Draught

OF A

NEW MODEL

AT

SEA.

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I Will make no other Introduction to the following Diſcourſe, than that the Importance of our being ſtrong at Sea, was ever very great, ſo in our preſent Circumſtances it is grown to be much greater; becauſe, as formerly, our Force in Shipping contributed greatly to our Trade and Safety. So now it is become indiſpenſibly neceſſary to our very being.

It may be ſaid now to *England*, Martha, Martha, *thou art buſie about many things, but one thing is neceſſary* to the Queſtion, What ſhall we do to be ſaved in this World? There is no other anſwer, but this, Look to your *Mote*.

The firſt Article of an Engliſh-man's Political Creed, muſt be, That he believeth in the Sea, *&c.* without that, there needeth no General Council to pronounce him incapable of Salvation here.

We are in an Iſland, confined to it by God Almighty, not as a Penalty, but a Grace, and one of the greateſt that can be given to Mankind. Happy Confinement, that hath made us Free, Rich, and Quiet; a fair Portion in this World, and very well worth the preſerving; a Figure that ever hath been envied, and could never be imitated by our Neighbours. Our Scituation hath made Greatneſs abroad by Land Conqueſts unnatural things to us. It is true, we have made

Excur-

Excurſions, and Glorious ones too, which make our Names great in Hiſtory, but they did not laſt.

Admit the *Engliſh* to be Giants in Courage, yet they muſt not hope to ſucceed in making War againſt Heaven, which ſeemeth to have enjoined them to acquieſce in being happy within their own Circle. It is no Paradox to ſay that *England* hath its Root in the Sea, and a deep one too; from whence it ſendeth its Branches into both the *Indies*. We may ſay further in our preſent Caſe, That if Allegiance is due to Protection, ours to the Sea is due from that Rule, ſince by that, and by that alone, we are to be protected; and if we have of late ſuffered Uſurpation of other Methods contrary to the Homage we owe to that which muſt preſerve us. It is time now to reſtore the Sea to its Right; and as there is no Repentance effectual without amendment, ſo there is not a moment to be loſt in the going about it.

It

It is not pretended to launch into ſuch a voluminous Treatiſe, as to ſet down every thing to which ſo comprehenſive a Subject might lead me; for as the Sea hath little leſs variety in it than the Land; ſo the Naval Force of *England* extendeth its ſelf into a great many Branches, each of which are important enough to require a diſcourſe apart, and peculiarly applied to it. But there muſt be a preference to ſome conſideration above others, when the weight of them is ſo viſibly Superior that it cannot be conteſted. It is there firſt that the Foundations are to be laid of our Naval Oeconomy; amongſt theſe there is one Article which in its own nature muſt be allowed to be the Corner-Stone of the Building, *viz.*

The Choice of Officers, with the Diſcipline and Encouragement belonging to them. Upon this Head only I ſhall then take the liberty to venture my opinion into the World, with a real ſubmiſſion to

thoſe who may offer any thing better for the advantage of the publick.

The firſt Queſtion then will be, out of what ſort of Men the Officers of the Fleet are to be choſen; and this immediately leadeth us to the preſent Controverſie between the Gentlemen and the Tarpaulins.

The uſual Objection on both ſides, are too general to be relied upon. Partiality and common Prejudices direct moſt Mens Opinions, without entring into the particular reaſons which ought to be the ground of it: There is ſo much eaſe in aquieſcing in Generals, that the Ignorance of thoſe who cannot diſtinguiſh, and the Largeneſs of thoſe who will not, maketh Men very apt to decline the trouble of ſtricter Enquiries, which they think too great a Price for being in the right, let it be never ſo valuable.

This

This maketh them judge in the Lump, and either let their Opinions ſwim along with the Stream of the World, or give them up wholly to be directed by ſucceſs: The effect of this is that they change their Minds upon every preſent uneaſineſs, wanting a ſteady Foundation, upon which their judgment ſhould be formed. This is a pearching upon the Twiggs of things, and not going to the Root: But ſure the Matter in queſtion deſerveth to be examined in another manner, ſince ſo much dependeth upon it.

To ſtate the thing impartially, it muſt be owned that it ſeemeth to lie faireſt for the Tarpaulin: It giveth an Impreſſion, that muſt have ſo much weight as to make a Mans Opinion lean very much on that ſide, it carrieth ſo much Authority with it, it ſeemeth to be ſo unqueſtionable that thoſe are fitteſt to command at Sea, who have not only made it their Calling, but their Element; that there muſt naturally be a prejudice to any thing that can be ſaid againſt

gainſt it: There muſt therefore be ſome reaſon very extraordinary to ſupport the argument on the other ſide, or elſe the Gentlemen could never enter the Liſts againſt ſuch a violent Objection, which ſeemeth not to be reſiſted. I will introduce my Argument with an aſſertion, which as I take to be true almoſt in all Caſes, ſo it is neceſſary to be explained and enforced in this. The aſſertion is, That there is hardly a ſingle Propoſition to be made, which is not deceitful, and the tying our Reaſon too cloſe to it, may in many caſes be deſtructive. Circumſtances muſt come in, and are to be made a part of the matter of which we are to judge; poſitive Deciſions are always dangerous, more eſpecially in Politicks. A Man who will be Maſter of an Argument, muſt do like a skilful General, who ſendeth Scouts on all ſides to ſee whether there may not be an Enemy. So he muſt look round to ſee what Objections can be made, and not go on in a ſtreight Line, which is the

ready way to lead him into a miſtake.

Before then that we conclude what ſort of Men are fitteſt to command at Sea, a Principle is to be laid down, that there is a differing Conſideration to be had of ſuch a ſubject-matter as is in it ſelf diſtinct and independent, and of ſuch a one, as being a Limb of a Body, or a Wheel of a Frame, there is a neceſſity of ſuiting it to the reſt, and preſerving the harmony of the whole: A Man muſt not in that caſe reſtrain himſelf to the ſeparate Conſideration of that ſingle part, but muſt take care it may fall in and agree with the ſhape of the whole Creature of which it is a Member. According to this Propoſition, which I take to be indiſputable, it will not, I hope, appear an Affectation or an extravagant Fit of unſeaſonable Politicks, if, before I enter into the particular ſtate of the preſent Queſtion, I ſay ſomething of the Government of *England*, and make that the

the ground-work of what ſort of Men are moſt proper to be made uſe of to command at Sea.

The Forms of Government to which *England* muſt be ſubjected, are either Abſolute Monarchy, a Commonwealth, or a Mixed Monarchy, as it is now; with thoſe natural Alterations that the exigency of Affairs may from time to time ſuggeſt. As to abſolute Monarchy, I will not allow my ſelf to be tranſported into ſuch Invectives as are generally made againſt it; neither am I ready to enter into the aggravating-ſtile of calling every thing Slavery, that reſtraineth Men in any part of their Freedom; One may diſcern in this, as in moſt other things, the good and the bad of it: We ſee by too near an Inſtance, what *France* doth by it; it doth not only ſtruggle with the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, but is in a fair way of giving Law to it.

This is owing in great meaſure to a Deſpotick and undivided Power; the uncontroulable Authority of the directive Counſels maketh every thing move without Diſorder or Oppoſition, which muſt give an advantage that is plain enough of it ſelf, without being proved by the melancholy Experience we have of it at this time.

I ſee and admire this; yet I conſider at the ſame time, that all things of this kind are Comparative; that as on one ſide, without Government Men cannot enjoy what belongeth to them in particular, nor can a Nation ſecure or preſerve it ſelf in general; ſo on the other ſide, the end of Government being, that Mankind ſhould live in ſome competent ſtate of Freedom, it is very unnatural to have the end deſtroyed by the means that were originally made uſe of to attain it. In this reſpect ſomething is to be ventured rather than ſubmit to ſuch a precarious ſtate of Life as would make it a burthen to a reaſon-

reaſonable Creature; and therefore after I have owned the advantages in ſome kind of an unlimitted Government, yet whilſt they are attended with ſo many other diſcouraging Circumſtances, I cannot think but they may be bought too dear; and if it ſhould be ſo, that it is not poſſible for a State to be Great and Glorious, except the Subjects are wretchedly miſerable. I am aſhamed to own my low-ſpirited frailty, in preferring ſuch a Model of Government as may agree with the reaſonable enjoyment of a Free People, before ſuch a one by which Empire is to be extended at ſuch an unnatural price. Beſides, whatever Mens opinions may be one way or another, in the general Queſtion, there is an Argument in our Caſe that ſhutteth the Door to any Anſwer to it, (*viz.*) We cannot ſubſiſt under a Deſpotick Power, our very Being would be deſtroyed by it; for we are to conſider, we are a very little ſpot in the Map of the World, and make a great Figure only by Trade, which is the

the Creature of Liberty; one deſtroyed, the other falleth to the ground by a natural conſequence, that will not admit a diſpute. If we ſhould be meaſured by our Acres, we are poor inconſiderable People; we are exalted above our Natural bounds, by our good Laws, and our excellent Conſtitution. By this we are not only happy at home, but conſiderable abroad: Our Scituation, our Humor, our Trade, do all concurr to ſtrengthen this Argument. So that all other Reaſons muſt give place to ſuch a one as maketh it out, That there is no mean between being a Free Nation, and no Nation.

We are no more a People, nor *England* can no longer keep its name from the *Moment*, that our Liberty are extinguiſht; the vital ſtrength that ſhould ſupport us, being withdrawn. We ſhould then be no more than the Carcaſs of a Nation, with no other ſecurity than that of Contempt, and to ſubſiſt upon no other Tenure,

Tenure, than that we ſhould be below the giving temptation to our ſtronger Neighbours to devour us. In my judgement therefore, there is ſuch a ſhort deciſion to be made upon this Subject, that in relation to *England*, an Abſolute Monarchy is an unreaſonable thing to be wiſhed, as I hope it will be impoſſible ever to be obtained.

It muſt be conſidered in the next place, Whether *England* likely is to be turned into a Commonwealth. It is hard at any time to determine what will be the ſhape of the next Revolution, much more at this time would it be inexcuſeably arrogant to undertake it. Who can foreſee whether it will be from without or from within, or from both? Whether with or without the Concurrence of the People? Whether regularly produced or violently impoſed? I ſhall not therefore Magiſterially declare it impoſſible that a Commonwealth ſhould be ſetled here; but I may give my humble opinion,

opinion, that according to all appearances, it is very improbable.

I will firſt lay it down for a Principle, That it is not a ſound way of arguing to ſay, That if it can be made out, that the Form of a Commonwealth will beſt ſuit with the Intereſt of the Nation, it muſt for that reaſon of neceſſity prevail.

I will not deny but that Intereſt will not lye, is a right Maxim, where-ever it is ſure to be underſtood; elſe one had as good affirm, That no Man in particular, nor Mankind in general, can ever be miſtaken. A Nation is a great while before they can ſee, and generally they muſt feel firſt before their Sight is quite cleared: This maketh it ſo long before they can ſee their Intereſt, that for the moſt part it is too late for them to purſue it: If Men muſt be ſuppoſed always to follow their true Intereſt, it muſt be meant of a new Manufactory of Mankind by God Almighty; there muſt be

be ſome new Clay, the old Stuff never yet made any ſuch infallible Creature.

This being premiſed, it is to be inquired, Whether inſtead of inclination or a leaning toward a Commonwealth, there is not in *England* a general diſlike to it; if this be ſo, as I take it to be, by a very great diſparity in numbers, it will be in vain to diſpute the Reaſon whilſt Humor is againſt it, allowing the weight that is due to the Argument which may be alledged for it; yet if the Herd is againſt it, the going about to convince them would have no other effect than to ſhew, That nothing can be more impertinent than good Reaſons, when they are miſplaced or ill-timed.

I muſt obſerve that there muſt be ſome previous Diſpoſitions in all great Changes to facilitate and to make way for them; and I think it not at all abuſed to affirm, that ſuch reſolutions are ſeldom made at

all, except by the general preparations of Mens Minds, they are half made before it is plainly visible that Men go about them.

Tho' it seemeth to me, that the Argument alone maketh all others unnecessary, yet I must take notice, that besides what hath been said upon this Subject, there are certain Preliminaries to the first building a Commonwealth; some materials absolutely necessary for the carrying on such a Fabrick, which are at present wanting amongst us, I mean Vertue, Morality, Diligence, Religion, or at least Hypocrisie. Now this Age is so plain dealing, as not to dissemble so far as to an outward pretence of Qualities which seem at present so unfashionable, and under so much Discountenance.

From hence we may draw a plain and natural Inference, That a Commonwealth is not fit for us, because we are not fit for a Commonwealth.

This

This being granted, the Suppoſition of this form of Government of *England*, with all its Conſequences to the preſent Queſtion, muſt be excluded, and abſolute Monarchy having been ſo too by the reaſons at once alledged, it will without further Examination fall to a Mixt Government, as we now are: I will not ſay that there is never to be any alteration; the conſtitntion of the ſeveral Parts that concurr to make up the frame of the preſent Government, may be altered in many things, in ſome for the better, and in others perhaps for the worſe, according as Circumſtances ſhall ariſe to induce a Change; and as Paſſion and Intereſt ſhall have more or leſs Influence upon the publick Councils: but ſtill if it remaineth in the whole ſo far a Mixt Monarchy, that there ſhall be a reſtraint upon the Prince, as to the exerciſe of a Deſpotick Power, it is enough to make it a ground-work for the preſent Queſtion. It appeareth then, that a bounded Monarchy is that kind of Government which will moſt probably prevail and continue

in *England*; from whence it muſt follow (as hath been hinted before) that every conſiderable part ought to be ſo compoſed, as the better to conduce to the preſerving the harmony of the whole Conſtitution. The Navy is of ſo great importance, that it would be diſparaged by calling it leſs than the Life and Soul of Government.

Therefore to apply the Argument to the Subject we are upon, in caſe the Officers ſhould be all Tarpaulins, it would either be in reality, or at leaſt it would be thought too great a tendency to a Commonwealth; ſuch a part of the Conſtitution being Democratically diſpoſed, may be ſuſpected to endeavour to bring it into that ſhape; and where the influence muſt be ſo ſtrong, the ſuppoſition will be the more juſtifiable: In ſhort, if the Maritim Force, which is the only thing that can defend us, ſhould be wholly directed by the lower ſort of Men, with an entire excluſion of the Nobility

Nobility and Gentry, it will not be eaſie to anſwer the Arguments ſupported by ſo great a Probability, that ſuch a Scheme would not only lean toward a *Democracy*, but directly lead us into it.

Let us now examine the contrary Propoſition, *viz.* That all Officers ſhould be Gentlemen.

Here the Objection lieth ſo fair of its introducing an Arbitrary Government, that it is as little to be anſwered in that reſpect, as the former is in the other. Gentlemen in a general definition will be ſuſpected to lie more than other Men under the temptations of being made Inſtruments of unlimitted Power; their Relations, their way of Living, their taſte of the Entertainments of the Court, inſpire an Ambition that generally draweth their inclinations toward it, beſides the gratifying of their Intereſts. Men of Quality are often taken with the Ornaments of Government; the Splendor dazleth

dazleth them ſo, as that their Judgments are ſurprized by it; and there will be always ſome, that have ſo little remorſe for invading other Men's Liberties, that it maketh them leſs ſollicitous to preſerve their own.

Theſe things throw them naturally into ſuch a Dependance as might give a dangerous Byaſs: if they alone were in Command at Sea, it would make that great Wheel turn by an irregular Motion; and inſtead of being the chief means of preſerving the whole Frame, might come to be the chief Inſtruments to diſcompoſe and diſſolve it.

The two former excluſive Propoſitions being neceſſarily to be excluded in this Queſtion, there remaineth no other Expedient; neither can any other Concluſion be drawn from the Argument as it hath been ſtated, than that there muſt be a mixture in the Navy of Gentlemen and Tarpaulins, as there is in the Con-

Conſtitution of the Government, of Power and Liberty. This mixture is not to be ſo rigorouſly defined, as to ſet down the exact Proportion there is to be of each; the greater or leſs number muſt be directed by Circumſtances, of which the Government is to judge, and which makes it improper to ſet ſuch Bounds, as that upon no occaſion it ſhall on either ſide be leſſened or enlarged. It is poſſible the Men of *Wapping* may think they are injured by giving them any Partners in the Dominion of the Sea; they may take it unkindly to be Joſtled in their own Element by Men of ſuch a different Education, that they may be ſaid to be of another Species; they will be apt to think it an Uſurpation upon them; and notwithſtanding the Inſtances that are againſt them, and which give a kind of Preſcription on the other ſide, they will not eaſily acquieſce in what they conceive to be a hardſhip to them.

But

But I ſhall in a good meaſure reconcile my ſelf to them by what follows; (*viz.*) The Gentlemen ſhall not be capable of bearing Office at Sea, except they be Tarpaulins too; that is to ſay, except they are ſo trained up by a continued habit of living at Sea, that they may have a right to be admitted free Denizons of *Wapping*. Upon this dependeth the whole matter, and indeed here lieth the difficulty; becauſe the Gentlemen brought up under the connivance of a looſer Diſcipline, and of an eaſier Admittance, will take it heavily to be reduced within the Fetters of ſuch a new Model; and I conclude they will be extreamly averſe to that, which they will call an *Unreaſonable Yoke* upon them, that their Original Conſent is never to be expected. But if it appeareth to be convenient, and which is more, that it is neceſſary for the preſervation of the whole, that it ſhould be ſo, the Government muſt be called in Aid to ſuppreſs theſe firſt boylings of Diſcontent; the Rules

Rules muſt be impoſed with ſuch Authority, and the Execution of them muſt be ſo well ſupported, that by degrees their Impatience will be ſubdued, and they will concurr in an Eſtabliſhment, to which they will every day be more reconciled.

They will find it will take away the Objections which are now thrown upon them, of ſetting up for Maſters without having ever been Apprentices; or at leaſt, without having ſerved out their time.

Mankind naturally ſwelleth againſt Favour and Partiality; their belief of their own Merit maketh Men object them to a proſperous Competitor, even when there is no pretence for it; but where there is the leaſt handle offered, to be ſure it will be taken. So in this Caſe, when a Gentleman is preferred at Sea, the Tarpaulin is very apt to impute it to Friend or Favour: But if that Gen-

tleman hath before his preferrment paſſed through all the Steps, which ought to lead to it; that he ſmelleth as much of Pitch and Tarr as thoſe that were ſwadled in a Sail-cloth; his having a Scutcheon will be ſo far from doing him harm, that it will ſet him upon the advantage Ground: It will draw a real reſpect to his Quality when ſo ſupported, and give him an Influence and an Authority infinitely ſuperior to that which the meer Seamen can ever pretend to.

When a Gentleman hath learned how to Obey, he will grow very much fitter to Command; his own Memory will adviſe him not to exact unreaſonable things; and for ſmaller faults, not to inflict too rigorous puniſhments: He will better reſiſt the Temptations of Authority (which are great) when he reflecteth how much he hath at other times wiſhed it might be gently exerciſed, when he was liable to the rigor of it.

When

When the undiſtinguiſht diſcipline of a Ship hath tamed the young Maſterſhip, which is apt to ariſe from a Gentleman's Birth and Education, he then groweth proud in the right place, and valueth himſelf firſt upon knowing his Duty, and then upon doing it.

In plain Engliſh, Men of Quality in their ſeveral Degrees, muſt either reſtore themſelves to a better opinion both for Morality and Diligence, or elſe Quality it ſelf will be in danger of being extinguiſhed.

The Original Gentleman is almoſt loſt in Strictneſs, when Poſterity doth not ſtill further adorn by their Vertue: The Scutcheon their Anceſtors firſt got for them by their Merit, they deſerve the penalty of being deprived of it.

To expect that Quality alone ſhould waft Men up into Places and Imployments, is as unreaſonable, as to think

that a Ship, becauſe it is Carved and Gilded, ſhould be fit to go to Sea without Sails or Tackling. But when a Gentleman maketh no other uſe of his Quality, than to incite him the more to do his Duty, it will give ſuch a true and ſettled Superiority, as muſt deſtroy all Competition from thoſe that are below him.

It is time now to go to the Probationary Qualifications of an Officer at Sea; and I have ſome to offer, which I have digeſted in my thoughts, I hope Impartially, that they may not be Speculative Notions, but things eaſie and practicable, if the directing Powers will give due countenance and encouragement to the execution of them: But whilſt I am going about to ſet them down, tho' this little Eſſay was made to no other end, than to introduce them, I am, upon better recollection, induced to put a reſtraint upon my ſelf, and rather retract the Promiſe I made at the

the beginning, than by adviſing the particular Methods, by which I conceive the good end that is aimed at may be obtained, to incurr the imputation of the thing of the World, of which I would leaſt be guilty, which is, of anticipating by my private opinion, the Judgment of the Parliament, or ſeeming out of my ſlender ſtock of Reaſon, to dictate to the Supream Wiſdom of the Nation. They will, no doubt, conſider the preſent Eſtabliſhments for the Diſcipline at Sea, which are many of them very good, and if well executed, might go a great way in the preſent Queſtion. But I will not ſay they are ſo perfect, but that others may be added to make them more effectual, and that ſome more Supplemental Expedients may be neceſſary to compleat what is yet defective; and whenever the Parliament ſhall think fit to take this Matter into their Conſideration, I am ſure they will not want for their direction the Auxiliary Reaſons of any Man with-

without doors, much leſs of one whoſe Thoughts are ſo intirely and unaffectedly reſigned to whatever they ſhall determine in this or any thing elſe relating to the Publick.

FINIS.